L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the 492 common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces ● 556 on the south-west. The *Huniya* * is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

231 The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 [439] small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

●556 415 /165/ URN--samáwar. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

589 601

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ-

233 **Chapter IV, B.**

Live-Stock.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

8½ Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti MISCEL

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

131

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the KÂngrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904.

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

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Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2]

[556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khdis* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

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A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal.

584

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation.

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

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[614]

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry.

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

●556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
621 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
241 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the
273 exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
439 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of